2: Schaden--65 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/56 cont./

436 829 177 [192] From the point of view of economic acculturation the Guaraní have an interesting attitude toward money (pirê, peráta: pirápirê, paper money: among the Ñandéva of Itariri I heard: retsá guatsú, big eyes, for the large notes, and retsá mirim, little eyes, for the lesser ones, these expressions being current also in Paraguay). The value that they attribute to it, which grows with the advance of acculturation, is often more symbolic than real, seeming to correspond rather to an imitation of an economic attitude foreign to cultural solicitations. Money exists to be spent: there is no 436 829 177 454 question of husbanding it, and no function in Guaraní culture corresponds to saving it. (Capitão Francisco of Rio Branco once told me that he had saved a lot of coins, but no money in notes, which, he stated, spoil easily). The awareness of other possibilities for making economies -- through the acquisition of a horse, for example, trading mandioca or other values -- appears only at an acculturative stage after the assimilation of many patterns of the neighboring rural culture. And in this case the possession of these material values already begins to represent a factor of social distinction.

• 423 The ownership of lands becomes individualized to the extent that it is the individual who cultivates them. Only among the Mbüá of Rio Branco have I found a clearing of collective ownership, a banana grove, and there was thought about developing pig-raising, likewise collectively. The rule in all the subgroups is that the plantings belong to whomever has made them and that the land cultivated by an individual continues to belong to him indefinitely. Dealing with the Txané /Chane/ and Txiriguáno /Chiriguano/, 423 171 Erland Nordenskiöld writes: "According to Vocapoy, the chiefs /57/ are the sole owners of the land. Batirayu said that the rights of ownership of the soil are regulated in such a way that each one cultivates the terrain that he deems good. The land that has already been cultivated is regarded as having an owner, even if it has been lying in reserve and fallow for many years. And the fallow fields themselves are part of the heritage" /translated from the French/ (8).

8. /From p. 64 of the original source./ Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 201.

2: Schaden--66 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/57 cont./

423 [191] Now this explanation given by Batirayu is valid, ipsis litteris, for all the Guaraní groups, as far as I have been able to observe them. Any abandoned clearing whatsoever continues to be a "possession" of whomever made it; at Araribá, for instance, I met Indians who considered themselves owners of "possessions" in Bananal, where they had lived many years earlier.

476 178 An unequivocal index of the degree of social disorganization of the majority of Guaraní communities is the progressive abandonment of the patterns of collective work. It is a direct consequence of the individualization of economic preoccupations. On the other hand, the successive intermeshing of the native groups in the regional caboclo economy leads to the re-establishment of the cooperative work, but in a pattern already modified.

121 177 476 829 Several authors have dealt with investigating the historico-cultural origins of the Brazilian mutirão or puxirão; there are some among them who grant that there is a confluence of native, Iberic, and African elements in the caboclo institution. It is not suitable to discuss the problem, difficult of solution, here. In any case,

476 171 one cannot deny the Amerindian filiation of the mutirão, already revealed by the sources of the chronicles, as well as by its own denomination of Tupí-Guaraní origin; for example, puxirõ (Kayová), puxirũ (Mbüá), apatxirũ (Tapirapé). Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was given the name aõmoõña as the designation for mutirão. Among the tribes of this linguistic family, the collective work of clearing seems to have been quite generalized. But Brazilian tribes of other classifications, such as the Bakairí /Bacairi/ (9),

9. /From p. 64 of the original source./ This is what is understood, for instance, from the description given by Max Schmidt, 1905, pp. 102-103.

also know or knew institutions of this type.

/59 cont./

476 179 178 Thus, it is confirmed once more that the most incisive change brought about by cultural contacts consists in the abandonment of ancient patterns of solidarity and co-operation that gain strength in the satisfaction of all the vital needs, whether in the religious practices, in economic activities, or in any other domain of existence.

476 182 563 On the other hand, in the places in which the Guaraní live in association with cabocio inhabitants or near them, the puxirão may prove to be an efficient way to make the relations with the "nationals" closer. Particularly the dance that ends the day of work in common sometimes assumes the form of interethnic fraternization. The Indians, for their part, very joyfully respond to a call made by a cabocio resident. This is observed, for instance, among the Ñandéva of the village of Bananal.

476 621 The second form of puxirão -- collective work for the whole local group -- has been observed only in the village of Rio Branco. Since the community, in the final analysis, has been reduced to a loose association of great-families, it is understandable that the undertaking is not initiated by an order of any chief, but by concurrence among all, comparable, perhaps, to the decisions of the "council of elders" among the ancient Tupinambá.

476 245 • [423] Thus there arose in the village a banana grove of some 800 stalks of bananas, with ownership in common, that is, "of the society," made up of the whole village (except for an old Ñandéva man, who co-operated only "as help," for he arrived after a large part of the work was done). The clearing for forming the banana grove was done in two puxirões; the planting, too, was done in common, but without /60/ puxirões. The planting was being done before the clearing had been finished; consequently there was no burning, and the banana trees grew among the felled trees. The Indians explained their attitude by their hurry to get bananas, not only for the pig-raising that they were initiating, but for their own alimentation. Thus the economic immediatism goes on, in conflict with the development of rational tillage.

612 /30 cont./
621 ...dealing with reports of So-and-So or of Mr. What-d'you-call-
[829] ...him, as the Mbüá say -- is always a kindred guided by a chief.

3. Economic relations in the family group

621 In some form the modes of the sort of economic relations
612 ...kind together all the individuals of a certain village or local
59 ...group. In other words the local group constitutes an economic
[178] ...community in which in a more or less known manner are bound
...by the community of interests the different units of production
...and consumption, which nowadays tend to be the elementary
...families. Kindreds made up of two, three, or more elementary
...families correspond to economic units of higher order, reflecting
...very well in their manifestations of solidarity the previous, pre-
...acculturative state, in which the great-family was the economic
...unit properly speaking. The congregation of the different great-
...families -- or kindreds -- to constitute a larger unit, whether
...the village or part of it (as a local group, geographically detached),
...occurs much more markedly on a religious basis, for just as
...the group of relatives is the elementary unit of production and
...consumption, the village constitutes the religious unit, at least
...on the occasion of the great celebrations of transcendental im-
...portance.

596 Finally, in former times, as everything indicates, the
178 ...great-family -- including the married couple, the married
...daughters, the sons-in-law, and the following generation --
...constituted the unit of production and consumption. Its frag-
...mentation may already have begun with the Jesuit influence.
[423] In some few cases the great-family even today is in practice the
...unit of production, although the clearings are declared to be the
...property of the various elementary families of the kindred.

59 One of these examples is the great-family of Paí Chiquinho
241 ...of the Kayová village of Panambi. The married son and each of
...the sons-in-law has a separate clearing, and Chiquinho insists
...on saying that, according to Kayová custom, each elementary
...family consumes the produce of its plantings. But at the time

/33 cont./
177 made up of those who have spent a large part of their lives out-
178 side of the Indian aldeias, having lived in closer contact with the
197 whites, speak and know only the modified type of the language,
361 admitting that they have difficulty at times in understanding the
speech of some of the older ones. I found very few of these cases.

361 Taquapiri, the aldeia under consideration in this article, is
[101] located in the Federal Territory of Ponta Pora, between the
Brazilian settlements of Utiflo and Nhu Vera, about two leagues
[141] from the Paraguayan border. At present about 175 individuals are
[628] Cayuá of the various groups of these Indians in the region, such
as the Posto Indigena "Benjamin Constant," Mangal, Iguassu,
178 Ipeum, and Pirajui. The Cayuá nowadays devote themselves
433 intensively to agriculture, making large clearings, and devoting
little time to hunting or fishing. Von Koenigswald notes that at
the beginning of the twentieth century, the period in which he
traveled through the /33/ region, the same was not true. "Every
Indian village maintains a small clearing with maize, manihoca,
gourd, sweet potato..." (4).

4. Ibid., p. 7.

178 About 40 or 50 years ago, more or less, the restrictions with which
131 the whites reduced the area of land that the Indians can use were
becoming more accentuated. Today the Indians of Taquapiri
•423 are limited to a territory which is not watered by rivers that con-
648 tain a large amount of fish and which does not have forests with
[175] plentiful game either. This progressive diminution of the Indians'
territory remains alive in the memory of part of the older men of
the group. The introduction of the machete to this group, an
174 event that took place at least in a period much earlier than the
177 reduction of the Indians' territory on the part of the whites and
412 which was going to facilitate the opening of the clearings in the
forest, constituted another important factor of the change observed
313 in the economy of the Cayuá /The index number for footnote 4

/36 comm./
553 themselves in a hammock, while the mother has the baby in her arms. Relatives of the child may or may not be present. The person who performs the ceremony is likewise sitting in a hammock, singing various songs. It is the mother who gives the name to the child. Before the ceremony ends, the child is seated on the floor, a piece of corn husk being put on his back by way of a tail. Then the one in charge of the ceremony continues to sing
[828] and rubs the corn husk. If this is not done, the child will be restless, like a chick, and throughout life he will not want to remain still. No payment is made for this service. Nowadays only Cayuá
[564] names are given in the manner described, but all the Cayuá of
[77] Taquaytí have Brazilian names by which they are called. These
[178] might be given by a Catholic priest who by chance is going through the region, but it frequently happens that the person is given any name suggested by the father or by some Brazilian.

866 Education. During the first years of life the child is ordinarily
867 educated by the parents for the sole that it is to perform as an adult. It falls to the mother to educate the daughter, and, while the child
868 is still quite small, she must become familiar with a small number
593 of tasks connected with the domestic economy, such as, for example,
962 that of fetching water. In the course of time the girl /??/ learns other work, such as pounding maize, cooking the various foods, planting the clearing, harvesting the crops and taking them home, as well as sewing clothes. Mother and daughter are found in constant association, the moments when they are separated being rare.
[134] In case of the mother's death, it is the maternal grandmother or
[603] the mother's sister who takes charge of the girl's education.

The boy's teacher is the father, and some boys, upon reach-
[423] ing the age of about eight or ten, receive from the father small areas of land which they can cultivate and consider their property. The majority of the boys, however, work in the father's clearing until they reach an age quite considerably older. Although the principal work is that of the clearing, the boy needs to learn other things as well; he is also taught how to hunt and fish, to collect wild honey, to make baskets and bows and arrows. In case of the father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

4c Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

the village of Taquapiry, a relatively closely grouped settlement of Cayuá, number about 175, including men, women, and children. To a certain extent, Taquapiry was atypical of what we had observed for some Cayuá elsewhere in that it was a group of houses built in relative proximity one to another, without much of the frequently encountered scattering of small kin groups in the forest. There were, however, some evidences of the tendency to live apart, representing, possibly, some of the more "traditionally minded" individuals of the group. Present-day Cayuá are sedentary and live in rough houses, many of which, in Taquapiry, house only elementary family groups.

The present Cayuá are primarily agricultural. Almost every adult male in the village has a *roça*,[9] or field, for planting, which is cut out of the forest by what can be generally described as slash-and-burn methods. A man need not be married before he possess a *roça*, and even some women carry on with their husband's *roça* after being widowed or divorced. But, generally speaking, *roças* are today associated with elementary families, for whom they serve as the principal means of obtaining a living.

A certain number of Cayuá still spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number would not be as large as that of *roça* owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. Hunting and fishing require considerable time, at least a day for even a small-scale hunt and two days and often more for fishing. The game resources of the immediate neighborhood of Taquapiry are not extensive, and no fish-bearing streams are to be found less than a half-day's distance from the *aldeia*. There are probably not more than one or two men in the village who spend more time in hunting and fishing than in agriculture.

Trapping and snaring, with the dual purpose of providing occasional meat and keeping agricultural pests under control, are engaged in to some extent by nearly all Cayuá males, whether or not they also hunt and fish. Trapping and snaring are somewhat distinct from "true" hunting and fishing in the Cayuá instance; they do not call for departure from regular agricultural activity. The provident

[9] A Brazilian word referring to the notably similar complex of agriculture traits among rural Brazilians.

Terena
Guarani 1949

[Buriti]

/95 cont./ for the cows, thus employing very few people. (The Indians have the usufruct of the milk of this cattle, and more rarely the meat--since beeves are slaughtered only infrequently.)

/96/ Francisco Horta

The 3,600-hectare reservation, supervised by the Francisco Horta Native Post, is occupied chiefly by Guarani Indians of the Kaiwá subgroup, who are distributed among three of the four population nuclei in the aldea: a) the central nucleus or Aldeia Farinha Sêca, where the dwelling of the Kaiwá "Captain" João Fernandes is, located close to the native post and where most of the Kaiwá population lives; b) Aldeia Bororó, as they call a concentration of 177 Kaiwá Indians on the banks of São Domingos stream and which has its own chief, "Captain" Ireno Isnardi; c) also Aldeia Proterito, subjacent to the former one, made up of only four ranchos, with 10 Kaiwá inhabitants, on the banks of the stream of the same name; finally d) the fourth nucleus, called Jaguapiru, is made up exclusively of Terêna families that comprise about 180 persons living in ranchos along Saltino or Jaguapiru stream.

By decree of 1917, signed by the president of the state of Mato Grosso, the government donated those lands to the Kaiwá local group which at that time consisted of about 550 individuals. It seems that only after 1917 did Terêna families begin to reach the reservation, coming from the top of the Maracaju range. Everything indicates that the first families were drawn there by the Coronel de Engenharia, Nicolau Bueno Horta Barbosa, then inspetor of that region, with the aim of stimulating Kaiwá agriculture through the known efficiency of Terêna labor. The families that kept coming to Francisco Horta were drawn by their relatives, who were settled comfortably alongside the Kaiwá.